Town of Locke Locke Sacramento County California

> HABS, CAL, 34-LOCKE, I-

HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE DATA REDUCED COPIES OF MESAURED DRAWINGS

ADDENDUM FOLLOWS...

Historic American Buildings Survey
Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service
Department of the Interior
Washington, D.C. 20243

TOWN OF LOCKE HABS No. CA-2071 (Page 1)

#### I. IMMIGRATION

Locke, California is a small, rural Chinese ghetto on the Sacramento River. It was developed in the early 20th century to serve Chungshan Chinese laborers who worked in the fruit orchards and vegetable fields in California's Delta region. Today, virtually all Chinese communities in America are urban enclaves. By contrast, Locke has remained an unincorporated village since its founding in 1915. For this reason, it is unique within the United States as the only extant rural Chinese community still occupied by Chinese people.

The Chinese began arriving in the Delta as early as 1850, drawn by the lure of the Gold Rush. In China, California was known as "Gum Shan" - Gold Mountain. Almost all of the Chinese who immigrated to California at this time came from the Kwangtung Province in the Pearl River Delta region around the provincial capital of Canton. The Pearl River Delta had long been a center of the foreign trade between China and Southeast Asia, and later with Europe and the Americas.

During the early 19th century the population of the Kwangtung Province grew dramatically, making the region one of the most populated in China. It also had a high rate of farm tenancy and a shrinking ratio of cultivated acreage per person. By the 1840's the region's agricultural economy was in shambles. The problems were compounded by droughts in 1848, '49 and '50, causing rice riots and intensified instability within the Province. Disrespect and mistrust for the Ch'ing government among the majority of the people caused many secret societies - such as the Triads who advocated rebellion and the restoration of the fallen Ming Dynasty - to become openly active in Kwangtung. The Ch'ing government's efforts to abolish the secret societies only drove them underground again.

Many poverty-stricken peasants turned to banditry, and whole districts joined bandit gangs of secret societies to gain protection. Conditions worsened with the rise of the Taiping Rebellion of 1850-64, led by a disillusioned scholar of an oppressed minority in Kwangtung. Rebellion, famine and economic malaise forced the people of Kwangtung to desperate measures. Thousands looked beyond China for refuge, emigrating to Southeast Asia, Latin America and California.

For many, securing passage to America was difficult to obtain. Male emigrants raised funds by borrowing money from contract labor groups in Kwangtung, the amounts of which were based on savings, income from the sale of property and one's future income, known as the credit-ticket system. Hong Kong was the place where most departed for California. Emigrants would make their way to Hong Kong and wait in dormitory accommodations provided by passage brokers. The journey itself was hellish at best. For months one had to endure crowded conditions on sailing vessels and steamships. The transit time from Hong Kong to San Francisco normally ranged from forty-five to ninety days, and possibly longer if the captain stopped en route. The long passage compounded by cramped, unsanitary conditions led to many deaths on board the ships. Chinese historian Thomas Chinn writes:

Health conditions on the bark, Libertad, were so bad that when she sailed into San Francisco harbor in 1854, one hundred out of her five hundred Chinese passengers and the captain had died during the voyage from Hong kong.

Upon arriving in San Francisco, immigrants traveled up to the gold fields by way of the Sacramento River, the major transportation route during the Gold Rush. Their first stop was Sacramento. From there, they continued by various means to the Sierra foothills.

If water levels were sufficiently high, steamboats ferried miners as far as Marys-ville on the Sacramento, then further north by way of the American River. Many of the steamboat operators who worked the Sacramento had come from the East coast via Cape Horn, in hopes of making substantial profits from the large, over-priced volume of business going up the Sacramento, American and Feather Rivers.

The Chinese, along with other gold seekers, followed the river route from San Francisco to the foothills. The three check points on their journey to the mine fields through Northern California thus came to be known to these people as the First (San Francisco), Second (Sacramento), and Third (Marysville) Ports of Gold Mountain. Long before the Sacramento Delta became an agricultural area in the early 20th century, heavily manned by Chinese labor, Chinese immigrants had become familiar with its terrain as they passed through streamboats to the mining region.

Just one month after the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill in 1849, three Chinese miners had immigrated to California, the first of thousands to travel from China. By 1850, approximately 4,825 had settled in California, and by 1852 the Chinese population in the United States had grown to 25,000.

Before this large-scale immigration began in the 1850s, notions about Chinese behavior and lifestyles had already been formed in most Americans' minds. American stereotypes of China were strongest on the East coast where European colonists had brought the first images to North America. During the 19th century these images were enunciated and further elaborated upon by such prominent men as John Quincy Adams and Ralph Waldo Emerson. Their views were derived from 18th-century Jesuit accounts, portraying China as a country of great age and wisdom. Mercantile traders operating out of New England ports, Western diplomats and Protestant missionaries replaced these more favorable impressions with new versions of Chinese "peculiarities."

New England merchants encountered a more complex society than the Jesuits had depicted. To these 19th-century traders, China was on the verge of political collapse, suffering from serious over-population problems and economic stagnation. They returned to the colonies also bearing tales of a strange and repulsive cuisine of birds' nests, snails, dogs, cats and, allegedly, rats. In the minds of the merchants, Chinese behavior, in addition, was the reverse of what it should have been: they wore white for mourning and purchased their coffins before death; they wrote from top to bottom instead of across the page from left to right; women dressed in pants and men wore skirts. The traders attributed these Chinese failings, and those of public cowardice, corruption and venality to a despotic, corrupt and vice-ridden government. The few favorable remarks centered on the quality of crafts, industries,

agriculture and the teachings of Confucious. As prominent members of their communities, the traders' derogatory tales gained currency among all tiers of New England society.

Merchants' travel accounts were assimilated into the American consciousness, but the writings of Western diplomats on missions to China had a greater authoritative impact upon American opinion. Diplomatic writers introduced the theme of racial prejudice based upon inherent biological defects. These accounts were also frequently injected with moral indignation, well beyond that of the more tolerant traders. In 1824 Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote:

"The closer contemplation we condescend to bestow, the more disgustful is that booby nation. The Chinese Empire enjoys precisely a Mummy's reputation, that of having preserved to a hair for 3 or 4,000 years, the ugliest features in the venerable vegetation of this extraordinary people. They are tools for other nations to use. Even miserable Africa can say I have hewn the wood and drawn the water to promote the civilization of other lands. But China, reverend dullness! hory idiot! all she can say at the convocation of nations must be - 'I made the tea!"?

The Protestant missionaries who traveled to China in increasing numbers during the mid-19th century were predominantly rigid fundamentalists who lacked formal theological training. Alone, surrounded by people speaking an unintelligible language in a foreign landscape, immersed in a cultural milieu that bore no discernible relationship to their previous experiences, many missionaries at first went into shock. They proclaimed that Chinese were Godless heathens.

Some became frustrated with the Chinese belief that they were poor victims of Satan, remaining predominantly unmoved by "those words that burn." In their frustration, missionaries became obsessed in their efforts to abolish idolatry, gambling, sexual immorality, paganism and the use of opium. Missionaries' views were circulated through church newspapers, magazines, books and lectures, and thus proved to be the most influential in shaping public opinion.

The many defamatory portrayals of 19th century Chinese life eventually emerged in American literature, and textbooks on geography and social studies. By the 1830s the "exotic" features of Chinese culture, once thought to be humorous, now aroused disgust and indignation. This is the social environment that greeted Chinese immigrants upon arriving from Hong Kong.

Americans' distaste for China's culture was translated to their behavior toward immigrants. As California's gold deposits were incrementally exhausted, access to the gold fields became increasingly limited, and entrance was based strictly on one's national origins. Gradually, one by one "non-American" groups were driven out of the mining fields by the use of discrimination and force, in whatever amount and combination proved necessary. Historian Alexander Saxton writes in The Indispensible Enemy:

"The first victims were Latin Americans. In many camps the native Californians, Sonorans, a few groups of Chileans were evicted from their claims

for non-payment of the state miner's tax or simply driven out as an undesirable element. Frenchmen also suffered occasionally, while English, Scotch, Irish and Germans seem generally to have been included within the concensus of insiders. But the Chinese were the main victims. Prohibition against the holding of claims regularly or sporadically from their diggings."10

A sign post in Mariposa, California was typical of many throughout the mining fields:

Notice is hereby given to all Chinese on the Agna Fria and its tributaries, to leave within 10 days, from this date, and any failing to comply shall be subjected to 39 lashes and moved by the force of arms.

One traveler, Samuel Bowles, wrote in his published memoirs <u>Our New West</u>, of the persecution of Chinese:

To abuse and cheat a Chinaman; to rob him; to kick and cuff him; even to kill him, have been things not only done with impunity by mean and wicked men, but even with vain glory. . . "Worse crimes even are known against them; they have been wantonly assaulted and shot down or stabbed by bad men, as sportsmen would surprise and shoot their game in the woods." 12

Those who did remain became menials in the mining camps - washing clothes and cooking for white miners. Others worked with resident Indians and Hawaiian Kanakas on the river dikes. When hydraulic mining was introduced, companies hired Chinese laborers to work the low-yield sites, a prime situation which prompted white miners to blame the rise of mining companies during the late 19th century on the Chinese.

New theories of biological racism and the frequent characterization of Chinese as sub-human and docile workers, incapable of original thought, were used to justify hostility and discrimination. White labor raised a cry against Chinese workers. In California the labor movement of the majority and anti-coolie clubs became one and the same.

## II. SETTLEMENT

When gold mining as an industry began to decline at mid-century, railroad construction replaced it as the major form of employment for Chinese outside the city ghettos. As early as 1858 unskilled Chinese laborers - "coolies" - were at work on an extension of the California Central's line to Marysville. The largest source of employment in railroad construction, however, was the Central Pacific's section of the transcontinental railroad. Unable to meet labor requirements, the Central Pacific decided in 1865 to hire Chinese. By the end of the year, 3000 Chinese were working on the line. During the following decade this figure rose to approximately 10,000.

Railroad companies soon discovered that Chinese laborers were easier to employ because they were hired in groups of fifty and one hundred and managed by their own labor boss. Contract labor groups, originating in the native province of Kwangtung, were led by an English-speaking Chinese man who acted as agent for the work crew. He hired the men (usually in China), negotiated their contract with the railroad company, managed the accounts, distributed paychecks and generally oversaw the crew. The boss also arranged room and board for his men, choosing the site of their camp and hiring a cook.

Most labor groups settled in the Pacific coastal cities of San Francisco, Seattle, Portland and Vancouver where menial jobs were most plentiful. Here they established ghetto communities which were closely patterned after their way of life in China. Thomas Chinn describes the most visible behavioral differences between the white and Chinese laborers:

"Probably on the advice of Chinese merchants, the workers were fed a Chinese diet, including dried oysters, dried cuttle fish, dried fish, sweet rice, crackers, dried bamboo, salted cabbage, Chinese sugar, dried fruits and vegetables, vermicelli, dried seaweed, Chinese bacon, dried abalone, dried mushrooms, peanut oil, oil, tea, rice, pork and poultry. This was a much more varied and balanced diet than beef, beans, bread, butter and potatoes of white laborers at the time. The Chinese also drank barrels of lukewarm tea brought by Chinese mess attendants. By way of contrast, white workers would not hesitate to gulp down cold water. Too often this water was contaminated and caused illness among workers." 10

The Chinese immigrants drew from their native cultural heritage to create a hybrid social structure conducive to their new environment. Because the farming people of Kwangtung were not geographically mobile, remaining in the same locality for centuries, the different districts had their own dialects, habits and customs. In California the Chinese quickly established distinct district associations, known as Hui Kuan. The Hui Kuan had its origins in Kwangtung in which a small, select group of prominent men stood between the local people and the magistrate representing the central government. 17 Hsiao Kung-Chuan describes in his book Rural China: Imperial Control in the Nineteenth Century the Hui Kuan's central function in rural Chinese communities:

Where the government abstained from interfering with its affairs the village enjoyed a measure of autonomy. It enjoyed autonomy, however, not because the government intended to give it something like self-government, but because the authorities were unable completely to control or supervise its activities. Such 'autonomy' in other words, was a result of incomplete centralization; the government never hesitated to interfere with the village life whenever it deemed it necessary or desirable. 10

In many of the large communities in the United States the Hui Kuan was the upper echelon of the social hierarchy, and the men who constituted the group were the spokesmen and buffers for their community, especially in matters of legal discrimination. The precedent of white supremacy over Chinese people was formally

established in an 1854 Court ruling that stated that Chinese could not testify in court against white people. During the next three decades, many other anti-Chinese ordinances were passed, and local eruptions between the Anglo-Saxon population and the Chinese were frequent.

The economic panic of 1873, leading to the full-fledged depression of 1877 set off many social and economic tensions within the country, which were unleashed on the large number of Chinese who made up the cheap, unskilled labor force. California's revised 1878 Constitution added anti-Chinese clauses, including the Chinese loss of suffrage:

No native of China, no idiot, no insane person, no person convicted of any infamous crime. . shall ever exercise the privileges of an elector of this State.  $^{21}$ 

Another clause forbade state-licensed corporations from employing Chinese or Mongolians. In 1882 the Congress passed the first Chinese Exclusion Act, banning Chinese immigration into America. The Act was renewed in 1892, and again in 1902, largely due to the vigorous lobbying efforts of AFL President Samuel Gompers. Gompers wrote in his propoganda pamphlet "Meat vs. Rice":

....the type of human species that is to occupy this side of the American continent is to be determined for all time.

That in the life and death struggle now going on for the possession of western shores of the American continent the Chinese (Asiatics) have advantages that must secure to them, if not a complete victory, at least a drawn battle in a division of occupancy with us.

To begin with, they have a hive of 450,000 Chinese (850,000,000 Asiatics) to draw from, with only one ocean to cross, and behind them an impulsive force of hunger unknown to any European people. . .

That an advancement with an incubus like the Chinese is like the growth of a child with a malignant tumor upon his back. At the time of manhood death comes to the malignanity. . . Asiatic Labor Degrades as Slaves Did . . . CHINESE CHEAP LABOR! Here is a tragedy - alongside this wifeless, childless, christless labor, the white toiler with his wife and weans competes in vain. 23

In 1913 the California Assembly passed the Alien Land Law which restricted land ownership to persons eligible for citizenship in the United States. Therefore, the Chinese, ineligible to become a part of the American citizenry, were unable to own land. The exclusion acts were not repealed until 1943, at which time they were declared unconstitutional.

Confronted by growing hostility and legalized discrimination during the second half of the 19th century, which culminated in the founding of the Workingman's Party whose motto was "The Chinese Must Go!" - the Chinese turned inward to their own institutions for protection. Shared traditions and attitudes created a strong bond among members of a Hui Kuan, and provided internal support in their

struggle to attain fair and equal rights. For the majority of the Chinese community the intensified hostility simultaneously tightened the control of the Hui Kuan and contract organizations over immigrants. But however constraining these tiers of control might have been for the laborer, they were also an individual's only protection against hostile forces beyond the boundaries of the ghetto. Chinese historian Alexander Saxton wrote of the fortress-like function of San Francisco's Chinatown:

The ghetto was like a vessel at sea. Passengers and crew slept by turn in the same set of bunks and there was always one shift at least on watch for stray sparks of enemy boarding parties. But whatever the causes, the fact was that Chinatown in San Franciso demonstrated extraordinary durability. It survived the years 1885-6 and 1893 when small town ghettos from San Diego to Seattle were being laid waste by mob attack. 25

The immigrant maintained contact with his native place through the channels made available by the Hui Kuan and other organizations. In turn the immigrant knew that he could not escape his debts and responsibilities because he could be traced through the Chinese communities in North America and even back to his province in Kwangtung.

Other specialized organizations were created to meet the needs of the growing, and increasingly diverse Chinese population. Some included only a select membership, or served an express function. Others represented a group that felt abused by the domineering institutions of the community. Guilds were also established to represent various mercantile activities. The extended family, or clan association, provided the greatest sense of intimacy and security. In their native province of Kwangtung, where whole villages were often one large clan, the extended family was the traditional and accepted nucleus of the social structure. In California clans expanded beyond blood relations to include persons from other districts but with the same surname.

The membership of the various organizations overlapped one another which helped to unify diversity within a community. The Tong was the term used to designate an organization. "In theory, a tong is a mutual-aid organization wherein its members sit down and exchange social amenities." Many of the Tongs in California had been established in China as secret political societies that had supported the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty.

The pressures that forced Chinese to seek solace inside a shrinking circle also magnified the aberrations for outsiders about the cultural baggage the Chinese had transported to the new land. Given the conditions, it is not surprising that prostitution, gambling and opium thrived. Although many men were married, their wives often remained in Kwangtung to care for aging parents and children, and guarantee loyalty to family and village. Many women who made the journey became semi-enslaved prostitutes. Thirty-nine states passed miscegenation laws, thereby increasing Chinese men's dependence upon prostitution for female companionship. Gambling and opium helped to pass the time within the almost totally male ghettos. Quite often, the sons of immigrant males established a family in Kwangtung and followed their fathers to California, thus perpetuating the pattern of life oriented toward Kwangtung.

# III. AGRICULTURE AND LABOR

As was true of many ethnic minorities in the United States, the Chinese in America had only limited control over the physical environments they inhabited. Most influential in determining the location and physical character of minority ghettos were the availability of jobs and the dominant culture in any given area. The Chinese looked upon their agricultural settlements as only temporary residences. When the "bitter strength" ended, they intended to return to their native Chinese villages to live out their remaining years as respected members of the communities they had left as poor youths. This dream was rarely realized. Even as late as 1949, many Chinese-Americans still expected to return, and most first-generation immigrants espoused the familiar hope in spite of their lack of personal conviction.

The completion of the Transcontinental Railroad in 1869 offered new opportunities to unemployed Chinese miners in the Sacramento Delta where they were hired by speculators to reclaim the marshlands for agricultural cultivation. 29 Chinese historian George Chu writes:

Reclamation became the main concern of the corporations, whose formation and continued existence depended on the availability of laborers willing to work in the malarial swamps for small wages. The Chinese fitted these requirements nicely. 30

Reclamation engineers planned out the work to be done on a section, then drew up agreements with Chinese contract labor bosses to carry out the work. In 1873 one Eastern observer noted, "We witness many gangs of Chinamen . . in all 250, making levees or embankments. They generally lodge in tents."31

Using only shovels and wheelbarrows, working in waste-deep water, the Chinese coolie gangs dammed sloughs, cut drainage ditches, built floodgates and piled up levees. Some two hundred Chinese men built forty-nine miles of levee around Sherman Island. The same number worked on Twitchell and Brannan Islands for the Tide Reclamation Company. Grand Island was at last fully enclosed with a levee twenty-nine-and-a-half miles long. To strengthen the natural alluvial levees, only shovelling and dumping was involved. In peat areas, particularly the San Joaquin section of the Delta, the Chinese cut blocks of peat from the ground, dried them in the sun, laid two parallel walls with the blocks, and filled the interior with sand from wheelbarrows. Wages were based on the cubic yards of dirt moved, and the bosses walked the levees measuring the work completed, sometimes correcting the engineer's calculations. 32

Once the land had been reclaimed, the price per acre rose to between \$20 and \$100. A former state surveyor-general estimated in the mid-1870s that California's property was valued at \$289,700,000. In large part the inflated value was a result of cheap Chinese Labor on both railroad construction and reclamation projects. <sup>33</sup> Unlike the Homestead laws in the Midwest, California's land laws made possible the purchase of large tracts of land at very low prices for speculators. The Federal government had granted two million acres of swamp and overflow lands to the state, and the state sold the land primarly to land companies in large parcels for \$1.25 per acre. The amount of purchase was refundable if the land companies spent matching funds on reclamation work. In essence, for the speculator, the land was free. <sup>34</sup>

Before reclamation, the Delta was a marsh at sea level, crossed by two diagonally running waterways. Tules and reeds covered the area, dotted with a few trees along channels and on elevated alluvial deposits. The daily tides and annual cycle of floods flushed the marshlands, and the encroachment of brackish water was confined to late summer in years of drought. After reclamation the land settled and the decomposed tules and reeds mixed with deposits of mineral-rich silt for agriculture. 36

Between 1867 and 1885, wheat was the principal crop grown in the Delta, raised on large ranches as a cash crop. Smaller farms usually planted a variety of crops.<sup>37</sup> The large-scale wheat industry proved to be as lucrative to California's economy as gold had been during the 1850s and early 60s. Historian Gerald D. Nash writes:

Wheat proved to be as great a boon to California's economy as gold had been in an earlier era. California produced a hard, dry and unusually white wheat that became particularly popular on the Liverpool Corn Exchange. Environment, entrepreneurship and technology combined to support the claim of editor of the California Farmer in 1869 that 'California is now esteemed the granary of the world.' Climate and topography were conditioning factors for large-scale wheat culture. Between May 10 and November 1 no rain was expected in California, so grain could easily be harvested, threshed, and sacked without fear of losses. Long, hot summers also cured the wheat as it ripened and precluded spoilage. The dryness of the summer season also enabled farmers to let their grains stand even after ripening. This made ranches of great size possible, ranging from 7,000 to 35,000 acres. 38

Innovations in mechanized wheat farming added to increased production, but a glutted international market soon made higher production less profitable.

The wheat boom collapsed as rapidly as it had developed. Increased competition from Canadian and Russian wheat suppliers was one factor in lowering the price of grain on the international market, cutting into the foreign markets that California sellers depended upon. The exhaustion of fertile land resulting from exploitation and the marked increase in land values compounded the problem, making wheat a low-profit industry in California. 39

Large fruit orchards began to replace the wheat farms in the Delta in the late 1880s. A one-hundred acre fruit orchard, with a smaller initial investment, netted as much if not more capital than a thousand-acre wheat farm. By contrast to mechanized wheat production, however, fruit growing required large volumes of manual labor to pick the fruit. The Chinese, experienced farmers and cheap labor, were prime choices for the work and were hired out as common laborers through the contract labor system. Barred by the 1882 Exclusion Act and 1913 Alien Land Law, only a few Chinese farmers actually owned the land they worked.

During the late 19th century, the large sections of Delta land were farmed by tenant farmers, sharecroppers and farm laborers. Under the leasing system, the Chinese tenant farmer visited various landowners who had farms available to rent during the next farming year which began in October. Owners specified the crops to be

raised, and the tenant paid for the use of the land. The first payment was usually made at the time the agreement was signed or just before harvest, and the final payment came when the crop had been sold on the market. Under a one-year contract the tenant had to net enough capital to pay off both the lease and begin a new season. The risk of financial loss was with the tenant who was responsible for paying the lease, and raising and marketing the crop. The one-year contract also served as a way for landowners to rotate crops by rotating tenant farmers with different farming specialties.

Sharecropping was the other most common form of farm tenancy. The Chinese share-cropper received about half the gross from the sale of the crops. From his share he paid the costs of running the farm, and buying the seed, chemicals and labor. The landowner supplied farm equipment, barn and dwellings.

The center of the orchard district was concentrated along the banks of the Sacramento River, between the towns of Hood and Walnut Grove. The Sacramento provided for the easy development of irrigation systems and an efficient water route to the San Francisco Bay and waterways to the East. Initial high productivity in the 1880s subsequently attracted large numbers of fruit growers to this Delta area, and in a short period, unbroken bands of fruit orchards lined both banks of the Sacramento.

During the late 19th and early 20th century, the Bartlett pear was the Delta's principal crop and pear orchards were the major source of employment for Chungshan laborers. Apple, peach, cherry and plum trees were planted as secondary crops to supplement the pear. The asparagus boom beginning ca. 1900 and continuing through World War II maintained the high demand for farm labor in the region. By 1920 almost all the cropland had been planted in asparagus. At one point, the Delta produced 90 per cent of all asparagus grown in the United States. Other field crops planted in the area after 1920 to replace citrus fruit production (gradually being transplanted to Southern California) included a variety of beans, sugar beets, carrots, celery and tomatoes. The profitable pear orchards and asparagus crops, and an increased food demand during World War I gave a strong boost to the Delta's economy during the 1920s.

# IV. LOCKE

Chinese labor was crucial to the agricultural success of the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta. In 1886 the California Bureau of Labor estimated that 87.5 percent of all farm labor in the state was Chinese. 44 After World War I, the Chinese population in the Delta remained high even though the overall number of Chinese in the United States was dropping.

Small clusters of one and two-room shanties sprang up along the Sacramento levees with an occasional Chinatown between Sacramento and Antioch. One Chinese community was located in Walnut Grove, a small town established in the 1850s and located at the junction of the Sacramento and Mokelumne Rivers. Walnut Grove's Chinese inhabitants had been drawn to this town in 1885 after a fire had destroyed their commutty, located in another town on the Mokelumne River. The occurance of the burning and terrorizing of Chinese communities in the early decades of the 20th century was commonplace. It would again be the cause of Locke's founding in 1915.

The composition of the Chinatown at Walnut Grove was mixed, representing at least two native dialect areas in the Pearl River Delta of Kwangtung, the Sze Yups and Chungshanese. The appearance of two groups in one town may have reflected the variety in crops in that section of the Delta. Walnut Grove straddled the fruit orchards to the north and the vegetable fields to the south. Since Chungshanese tended to work in the orchards, and the Sze Yups tended to work the field crops, particularly potatoes and onions - Walnut Grove's Chinatown marked a geographic intersection in the Delta's farming pattern.

On October 7, 1915 a fire destroyed the Chinatown in Walnut Grove, completely damaging eighty-five structures, an estimated \$100,000 in property losses. After the fire, a majority of Walnut Grove's Chinese merchants decided to rebuild their community in a new area. They chose Lockeport, a town on the Sacramento River about a half-mile north of Walnut Grove. The new settlement was to be predominantly Chungshanese so as to strengthen the common bonds of native district and dialect among inhabitants. In California, these shared traits were very important. A clear sense of group solidarity, and separateness from others, was established through native ties.

A committee of six men, led by merchant Bing Lee, was formed to secure the land for the new town. Lockeport was owned by George Locke, a prosperous farmer who owned orchards on and around the site. Federal exclusion acts made it impossible for Chinese to become naturalized citizens and the 1913 California Alien Land Law restricted land ownership to only persons eligible for citizenship. Locke thus made a verbal agreement with the merchants to lease the land. To make room for building the consented to clear nine acres of orchard land, charging five dollars a month for a lot upon which a single-story house stood and ten dollars for a commercial building of two stories. Under this rental arrangement Locke simultaneously leased the land and retained ownership while the Chinese tenants owned the buildings. Between 1915 and the present, the Locke family has never raised the rent on the land, and have probably paid more in accumulated property taxes than they have received in rental payments.

For the early settlers to Locke, the cost of moving to the new site involved raising most or all of the money through the use of the Chinese system of a rotating credit association, the Hui. The Hui was a method of raising funds by drawing upon one's friendships and social ties, a financial practice peculiar to traditional Chinese culture. 4 The way the Hui worked was that a number of people got together, pooled an agreed-upon amount of money, continuing to pool the same amount at regular intervals until each participant had received the sum of money once. For instance, a man who needed \$500 to move and establish a new business in Locke would organize ten friends and/or relatives into a Hui. The members would meet at a dinner and each would place a given sum - in this case \$50 - into a common pool. If each member put in \$50, the pool of money would amount to \$550, which would be the amount the organizer needed to move to Locke as well as pay for the dinner. The organizer of the Hui would thus pay for the first dinner and receive the first sum of \$550. The group would then meet for ten subsequent dinners, and the process continued until everyone had received the \$550 sum. In this way each member received \$550 for the price of one dinner.

This system of rotating credit was very important in the development of small-scale Chinese-American businesses in the United States, and continued in wide use well into the 1950s. 49 In China the Hui was often a social activity, as important a means of maintaining social and kinship bonds as it was of raising money. In California, where the vast majority of Chinese consisted of single men in search of fortunes and without substantial funds, the Hui took on a decidedly monetary role.

The original town plan as laid out by the Chungshan community conformed to existing physical conditions. A rail-siding looped around the south end of the site to the dock, built by George Locke in 1907 to facilitate shipping. The Chinese agreed to construct their town immediately abutting this defined edge on the Sacramento, and began in 1915 to lay out rows of lots approximately 32 feet wide by 75 feet deep. Just behind the row facing the levee was Main Street, the town's nucleus.

The original lot plan of Main Street was too narrow, proposing to place buildings too close together. The initial plan was as much a fire hazard as Walnut Grove's Chinatown had been. The men who had laid out the Main Street lots were reluctant to start over, but their leader, Bing Lee, demanded that sidewalks be narrowed by two feet, thereby increasing the width of Main Street by four. This change proved to be an improvement for both fire safety reasons and accomposating the automobile traffic, just beginning to emerge in the Delta. Once the buildings were erected and inhabited, Locke merchants took extra precautions to reduce the threat of another devastating fire. They hired a guard to make hourly checks between six in the evening and dawn. Upon completing his rounds the guard struck small wooden blocks - a bok-bok - to indicate all was well.

Four-foot wide planks were laid between the buildings and the edges of property lines, creating a uniform pattern of eight-foot wide spaces between each building. Alleys, storage spaces, gardens and yards filled the narrow spaces. The overhang of second-story porches flanking either side of Main Street formed covered galleries over the sidewalks, and signs hung down to advertise the various businesses lining the street.

Aside from a few families, merchants, labor contractors, dock workers and prostitutes, Locke was a community of transient residents. The majority of the inhabitants were farm laborers, and the businesses in the town were established expressly to cater to the needs of the Chungshanese laborers who worked the orchards along the Sacramento and the field crops that stretched beyond the orchards. Main Street was a series of shops where laborers could purchase clothes, food items and other necessities which were unaccessible in the fields. Providing male laborers with entertainment on their, days off or during the rainy season when fields and orchards were too soggy to work, gambling houses, a token bar, and the back-street brothels prospered by taking in the laborers hard-earned money. Fronting Main Street buildings were benches where men sat to meet one another and watch passersby. 51

The buildings are simple, wooden frame structures, erected upon concrete foundations and covered with clapboard or board-and-batten siding. Gable roofs are sheathed with corrugated metal - cheap, easy to lay and relatively fire-resistant. Intended to be efficient and inexpensive, all buildings were designed on rectangular interior plans, either one or two stories high. 52 The emphasis on utility and economy was largely a by-product of the Alien Land Law. Similarly, brick or stone would have

offered greater fire protection, but such expense and permanence probably seemed unreasonable to people who did not own the land or intend to spend the rest of their lives in America.

The buildings constructed along the top of the levee are two stories and have two main entrances - one on the west facade's second floor facing the levee highway, and another on the first floor opening onto Main Street. The ground floor facade facing Main Street was usually used for the display area of a store. Ground-floor spaces away from the street were used for storage, living quarters, and in some cases opium dens. The second-floor was divided into a store area on the levee side, and a series of rooms flanking a double-loaded corridor, rented to Locke's dock workers and farm laborers during the off-season.

The building that presently houses the Locke County Store is typical of those erected between Main Street and the levee highway during the early decades of the 20th century. On the east side facing Main Street, the store's full two stories are visible. At ground level, the symmetrical east facade has two display windows flanking a central entrance. The second-story's west elevation and public boardwalk are level with the highway atop the levee, giving the appearance of a one-story structure. This facade was designed as a false store front, concealing the gable of the saddle-bag roof.

Most of the one-story buildings on either side of Key Street were residences and brothels. These structures were erected within the first few years of Locke's founding in 1915. As the brothels began to close in the early 1940s, the old brothel buildings were converted to residences. The simple rectangular plans and wooden construction facilitated the easy conversion of a building's use to accommodate changing needs and social conditions.

One Key Street brothel was built ca. 1917 by a Sacramento carpenter. It was laid out on a central hall plan with five bedrooms (8'xl0') on either side of the hall-way. Men seeking female companionship entered the front door and walked through the corridor, choosing from those women whose doors were open. Around 1925, the carpenter erected a small one-room bar adjoining the brothel, thus expanding his business. In 1937 he sold both bar and brothel to a prominent Locke resident, and the new owner converted the buildings into a residence for his extended family.

On the east side of Key Street stands the original Chinese Baptist Center, established in 1919 by the Reverend Charles R. Shepherd, a former Baptist missionary to China. Shepherd had worked for the Baptist Foreign Missions in Canton where he was a professor of Church History at Canton Baptist College, and an English teacher at the Canton Baptist Boy's Academy. At the time he was asked to visit Chinatowns in the Delta, Shepherd was director of Chinese Missions of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, based in San Francisco. His and other Christian missionaries' motivating objective in working with Chinese people was to bring them out of ignorant "paganism." By the early 1890s eleven Christian denominations were involved in converting the Chinese in America. The initial result of Shepherd's efforts in Locke in 1919 was the founding of the Woman's American Baptist Home Mission Society (WABHMS). The first religious services for adults and classes for children were conducted in a laundry. 53 In a few years, efforts to raise money for a mission

building began. Ironically, the bulk of the funds were solicited from Main Street gambling house owners. 54 By 1922 the Locke Christian Center on Key Street was completed and occupied for Sunday services.

Sunday school classes and weekly clubs were attended predominately by young girls who were instructed in music, sewing and cleanliness. In the summers, a joint program with Walnut Grove's Japanesc Methodist mission was created. The Reverend Shepherd wrote that during the first summer

50 (were) enrolled, 23 boys and 27 girls, and an average attendance of 38; 182 articles were made, and the little folks did splendidly in the Bible and song work. The collection amounted to \$11. The girls made sewing-baskets, jointed paper dolls, rag dolls, aprons, wallpaper beads, purses, etc. The boys made small tables, broom holders, wagons, toy animals, flower stands, etc. 55

The impact of the mission upon Locke's Chinese community was never as great as Shepherd had originally hoped. The Baptist mission saw its plight in terms of an uphill battle that could only be successful with the leadership of a Chinese pastor. The Baptist mission's inability to retain a Chinese pastor in Locke resulted in minimal support among the local people. General lack of interest in the mission and the declining population in the Chinese community contributed to the mission's slow decline. In 1934 thirty-five boys participated in mission activities. <sup>56</sup> By 1965 the school had been closed, and the building was given to Walnut Grove Church.

The civic hall, the building at the north end of Main Street, was used for the Chinese school. Here, after returning from a day in the American school in the neighboring town of Walnut Grove, the children of Locke were taught to read and write Chinese characters. It was in this one-room classroom that the second generation learned the history and acquired a keener sense of their native country's heritage. Training in Chungshan dialect also helped (and was intended) to reinforce family and community cohesiveness, as well as heightening the social barrier between Locke residents and outsiders. The Attendance at the school peaked during the postwar baby boom years in the late 1940s and 50s, with enrollments averaging forty to fifty children. Beginning in the late 50s, this number dropped steadily until only about five or six children are in attendance in the early 1970s. 58

To the rear of the town stood a mill shed built by George Locke, and an open field that was developed into small vegetable gardens. Maintained by town residents, the gardens produced a variety of crops including potatoes, celery, tomatoes, corn, onions, carrots, lettuce, cabbage and an assortment of melons, bok choy and other Chinese yegetables. To the east of the gardens, paths led over the Southern Pacific Railroad tracks to a branch of Snodgrass Slough where people fished and hunted game of ducks and geese. A small graveyard also once existed in this general area. But the graves, left unmarked, are now lost.

Racial violence and the burning of Chinatowns in the western states, especially, led to the large pool of Chinese laborers who migrated to live in the Delta region during the first decades of the 20th century. This, coupled with the impact of the exclusion acts, caused a general decline in the Chinese population living in the United States, falling from 107,488 in 1890 to 61,639 in 1920. As Northern California's Chungshanese communities began to disappear, Locke came to be known as the central haven for the Chungshanese who worked in the Delta orchards and fields.

#### V. DECLINE

The shift in the flow of Chinese into and out of the United States has had the greatest impact upon the evolution of Locke since 1915. Technological changes, though, have also played a strong role in its development. On one hand, improved methods of shipping and storage greatly expanded the markets for Delta producers. On the other, mechanization diminished the number of farm laborers needed to work a 50-acre farm. The emergence and expansion of the canning industry took up some of the slack.

Since the largest market for Delta pears in the late 19th and early 20th century was on the East coast, cross-continental shipment created a problem of preserving the fruit throughout the long journey. Iced refrigerator cars were introduced in 1895 by Philip Armour, of the Armour Packing Company in Chicago, and within five years Armour had a monopoly in California's fruit trade. Ice-filled cars significantly increased the volume of fresh produce that Delta farmers could sell, but farm production still remained higher than market demand during the harvest season. A method for preserving fruit and vegetables for prolonged periods was needed. Canning was thus introduced as a large-scale industry. Between 1880 and 1900, canneries were built in rapid succession throughout the Delta, varying in size from such large plants as Capital Canning and Packing in Sacramento, employing 450 persons, to small 25-person canneries located in villages along the River.

The growth of the asparagus market gave an additional boost to cannery activity. This in turn put pressure on Sacramento farmers to diversify in crop production as asparagus growing began moving south into the San Joaquin Delta. Tomatoes were introduced because of their long harvesting season. Increased crop varieties extended the canneries' operating season, broadening employment opportunities for the laborers who frequented Locke, and better canning techniques and the opening of the Panama Canal in 1914 improved the position of the canned Delta fruits and vegetables in both the Atlantic seaboard and European markets. The ethnic specialization common on the farms was soon transferred to canneries. The Chinese trucked asparagus to the cannery, washed, sorted, canned and soldered. Japanese and Caucasian laborers manned the warehouses, labeled, stored and shipped. 60

Transportation and canning improvements enhanced Locke's position, but the upgrading of farm machinery dealt the town its final blow. World War I generated an increased demand and higher prices, providing Delta farmers with capital to invest in the most up-to-date equipment. With the use of pruning towers, fog-spraying machines, forklifts and tracks, fewer orchard workers were needed. After World War II, airplanes for seeding, spraying, fertilizing and dusting fields were also more accessible to farmers. By the 1950s the Sacramento Delta had become one of the world's largest consumers of mechanized farm machinery. Mechanization, together with the declining Chinese population, doomed Locke and other Chinatowns along the Delta.

The war also accelerated the development of truck and tractor technology. Trucks first appeared in the Delta in 1913, and tractors numbered more than 15,000 by 1919 in California, accounting for twenty-five percent of the agricultural transport power. 1 The major factor which limited the rapid acceptance of trucks to transport produce to centralized canneries was a lack of good roads. During the 19th century, road construction and maintenance remained the responsibility of county governments, and the Southern Pacific used its substantial clout in county politics to concentrate road construction on feeders connected to its railroad lines. 62 Eventually in 1909, 1915 and 1919 state bond issues were passed to finance the development of a highway system that would parallel the major rail lines and supply market roads for agricultural areas. 63

Just as the growth of riverboat transportation and the construction of the Southern Pacific line had improved Locke's position, the transition to truck transport for Delta crops undercut Locke's economic viability beginning in the 1930s, expediently transporting crops away from Locke's small canneries to the larger, more efficient operations around the Sacramento and San Francisco areas. Truck transport was also fast and flexible when compared to either railroad or river transport. Short distance shipping and rail freighting declined, and each mode of transportation took on distinct specialized functions. The railroads specialized in long distance hauling of large packed and prepared products. Water shipment became limited to moving large volumes of bulky low value cargoes such as gravel, grain and fuel. Trucks took over the door-to-door hauling of agricultural produce to canneries and packing houses as well as carrying produce to nearby markets.

While mechanized machinery and new, faster transport networks contributed to Locke's declining reputation, Prohibition gave the community a momentary false glitter that concealed the town's demise. On January 16, 1920 the 18th Amendment to the Constitution took effect, and Prohibition turned Locke into a small mecca for drinkers from Sacramento because the town was unincorporated and therefore without a police force. It was distant enough from the state capital to be sheltered from police attack and public scrutiny, yet close enough for state officials to reach in the evenings. The emergence of the speakeasy in Locke represented the imposition of outside cultural forces on a relatively defenseless ethnic community, in a weak economic position to exclude or participate in the new illicit trade.

Locke's general decline in the mid-twentieth century paralleled the Delta's diminishing role in the state's general agricultural economy. The Delta's organic, sub-irrigated soil dropped in value, largely a consequence of "low cost" rather than "high yield" reclamation projects which began in the 1880s, contracted out by absentee landowners. Extensive land settlement and the exhaustion of fertile soil created drainage problems as the land sank well below the level of levee-contained waterways, escalating the cost of maintaining level fields for effective sub-irrigation. Poor management and drainage difficulties led to increasing soil salinity. Also, the abundance of nitrogeon in the soil caused rapid weed growth, affecting the kind of crops that could be planted. Finally, the settling of the land behind the levees increased erosion, thus elevating maintenance expenses and dangers of flooding. The special problems of Delta farming coupled with the increased use of technology in agriculture undercut the farm labor market at the same time the Chinese population was experiencing internal transformations.

The 1930 census showed that 15 percent of the Chinese population in the United States were children between the ages of one and fourteen. The rigid social structure of first-generation immigrants did not allow for much changes, and was not receptive to novel ideas which potentially threatened the stability of their traditional order. Many second-generation Chinese also spoke English fluently and attended segregated American public schools. They consequently came to be much more comfortable with American life and did not always share their parents' strong ties with Chungshan culture, finding the moral solidarity of the original immigrant associations archaic, sentimental and parochial.

Their career ambitions went beyond field labor, and, with their parents' blessings, they sought better jobs and more formal educational training. With the aid of the G.I. Bill during the post-World War II years, many Chinese-Americans attended college. A large percentage of this group pursued technical training in careers that did not require a perfect command of the English language but that prepared them for professional careers. At the end of the war a few Chinese returned to Locke, but most of the second generation did not, settling in large cities where employment opportunities were more abundant. By the 1950s and early 60s, only the elderly Chinese still worked in the fields.

World War II also induced a series of legal actions which indirectly contributed to the attrition of Locke's economy. Prostitution within a short distance of a military base was declared a Federal offense, closing down the few remaining brothels in Locke and others in the Delta towns near Travis Air Force Base. After the diplomatic alliance between China and the United States was effected, the Chinese Exclusion Acts were found unconstitutional, and Asian aliens were made eligible for citizenship. The character of the Chinese-American community however had shifted away from agriculture, and the farmlands of the Sacramento Delta had long ago been bought up and settled. Very few returned to farming. The termination in 1965 of an immigration quota for Chinese therefore had no impact on Locke. Most immigrants from Hong Kong and Southeast Asia sought employment in the large metropolitan areas rather than rural areas.

During the 1970s the population of Locke dropped below one hundred, the majority of which were elderly persons. As population numbers have dwindled, the few remaining businesses on Main Street have come to depend upon the Delta's expanding tourist and vacation trade. After World War II, an Italian-American restaurant owner from San Francisco, Al Adami, moved to Locke and rented a Main Street building for use as a speakeasy and gambling house. The place became known as "Al the Wop's" frequented by locally prominent figures who made a habitiof eating steak sandwiches in the back room while they gambled and drank. This established its reputation as a steak house, and is one of the town's main tourist attractions today. Many people stop at Locke as they drive along the levee highway; others - fisherman, hunters, boaters - frequent the area as they cruise the Delta waterways. In accordance with this changing pattern of Delta like, the Southern Pacific dock shed has been sold and converted into a boathouse for weekend pleasure seekers.

### FOOTNOTES

- 1. Frederick Wakeman, Strangers at the Gate: Social Disorder in South China, 1839-1861, Berkeley, 1966, 127.
- 2. Thomas W. Chinn, ed., A History of the Chinese in California: A Syllabus, San Francisco, 1969, 16
- 3. Chinn, 16.
- 4. Stan Steiner, Fusang: The Chinese Who Built America., N.Y., S.F. & London, 1979, 115.
- 5. Chinn, 19.
- 6. Stuart C. Miller, The Unwelcome Immigrant: The American Image of the Chinese, 1785-1882, Berkeley, 1969, 16-37.
- 7. Miller, 16.
- 8. Miller, 57-80.
- 9. Miller, 88.
- 10. Alexander Saxton, The Indispensible Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California, Berkeley, 1971, 52.
- 11. Calvin Lee, Chinatown U.S.A., New York, 1965, 6.
- 12. Samuel Bowles, Our New West: Records of Travel Between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Ocean, Hartford, CT, 1869, 402.
- 13. Chinn, 43.
- 14. Saxton, "The Army of Canton in the High Sierra," Pacific Historical Review, 35, No. 2 (May 1966), 141-50.
- 15. Saxton, "The Army," 149; Chinn, 42.
- 16. Chinn, 44-45.
- 17. Stanford, M. Lyman, The Asian in the West, Reno, 1970, 16.
- 18. Kung-Chuan Hsiao, Rural China: Imperial Control in the Nineteenth Century, Seattle, 1960, 263.
- 19. The People vs. George W. Hall, 4 California, 399 (1854).
- 20. Carey McWilliams, Factories in the Field, 1939, reprint Salt Lake City & Santa Barbara, 1971, 11-27; Ralph Kauer, "The Workingman's Party of California,"

  Pacific Historical Review, 13, No. 3 (September 1944), 278-91.
- 21. Saxton, 128.

- 22. Mary Coolidge, Chinese Immigration, New York, 1909; 168-82 Elmer C. Sandmeyer, The Anti-Chinese Movement in California, 1939, 93-95.
- 23. Samuel Gompers and Herman Gutstadt, <u>Meat vs. Rice</u>, 1902, San Francesco 5, 13-14, 32.
- 24. Russell M. Posner, "The Lord and the Drayman: Maes Bryce vs. Denis Kearney,"

  <u>California Historical Society Quarterly</u>, 50, No. 3 (September 1971),

  277-84; Roger Olmsted, "The Chinese Must Go!" <u>California Historical</u>

  <u>Society Quarterly</u>, 50, No. 3 (September 1971), 283-94; Kauer.
- 25. Saxton, 150.
- 26. Hugh D.R. Baker, A Chinese Lineage Village: Sheung Shui, Stanford, 1968;
  Maurice Freedman, Lineage Organization in Southeastern China, London,
  1958; Francis L.K. Hsu, Under the Ancestors' Shadow, Stanford 1967;
  Hu Hsien Chin, The Common Descent Group in China and its Functions,
  New York, 1948; Hui-Chen Wang Liu, The Traditional Chinese Clan Rules,
  New York, 1959.
- 27. Rose Hum Lee, The Chinese in the United States of America, Hong Kong, 1960, 440.
- 28. Lyman, 27-32.
- 29. Joseph McGowan, History of the Sacramento Valley, 3 vols, New York & West Palm Beach, 1961, I, 287; George Chu, "Chinatowns in the Delta: The Chinese in the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta, 1870-1960," California Historical Society Quarterly, 49, No. 1 (March 1970), 21-37.
- 30. Chu, 23.
- 31. Chinn, 56.
- 32. Chu, 24.
- 33. Chinn, 56.
- 34. Walton Bean, California: An Interpretative History, New York & San Francisco, 1968, 225.
- 35. Torrey Lyons, 1.
- 36. Arthur Allen, Stories of the Sacramento Delta, Rio Vista, CA, 1952, 3.
- 37. McGowan, I, 268.
- 38. George H. Knoles, ed. Essays and Assays: <u>California History Reappraised</u>, San Francisco, 1973, 41-42.
- 39. Knoles, 42.
- 40. McGowan, I, 275-76, 385.

- 41. Chu, 32.
- 42. Allen, 10.
- 43. Steiner, 144-45.
- 44. Steiner, 144-45.
- 45. Allen, 24.
- 46. Ping Lee, Interview, September 26, 1975, Walnut Grove, CA.
- 47. Clifford Geertz, "The Rotating Credit Association: A "Middle Rung" in Development," Economic Development and Cultural Change, 10, No. 3 (April 1962), 241-63.
- 48. Ivan Light, Ethnic Enterprise in America, Berkeley, 1972.
- 49. Kuo-Sun Lee, Interview, April 13, 1977, San Francisco, CA.
- 50. Ping Lee; Jean Ross, "Lee Bing," <u>Pacific Historian</u>, 20, No. 4 (Winter 1976), 351-66.
- 51. Chu, 26.
- 52. Chu, 26.
- 53. Esther A. Thomas, "A Chinese Town on the Sacramento," Missionary Review of the World. 57, No. 9 (September 1934), 407-408.
- 54. Dorothy Augusta, "Locke," Sacramento County Historical Society Golden Notes, 16, No. 4 (October 1970), 1-8.
- 55. Charles R. Shepherd, "Sowing the Seeds of International Good Will, "Missions, 14, No.11 (December 1923), 624.
- 56. Thomas, 408.
- 57. H. Mark Lai & Philip PL Choy, Outlines: <u>History of the Chinese in America</u>, 1971, rpt. San Francisco, 1973, 99-100; Charles Wollenberg, "Ethnic Experiences in California History: An Impressionistic Survey," <u>California Historical Society Quarterly</u>, 50, No. 3 (September 1971), 233; Medford S. Weiss, Valley City: A Chinese Community in America, Cambridge, 1974.
- 58. S.W. Kung, Chinese in American Life, Seattle, 1962, 250-57; Whitney Marr, Interview, May 16, 1977, Berkeley, CA.
- 59. McGowan, II, 13.
- 60. McGowan, II, 16; II, 14; Chu, 36.
- 61. McGowan, II, 238.

- 62. Walton Bean, California: An Interpretative History, New York & San Francisco, 1968, 375.
- 63. U.S. Bureau of Public Roads, "Report of A Study of the California Highway System," Washington, D.C., 1920, 21; Ben Blow, California Highways: A Descriptive Record of Road Development by the State and by Such Counties As Have Paved Highways, San Francisco, 1920, 1-11; California State, Highway Advisory Committee, "Report of a Study of the State Highway System," Sacramento, 1925, 7.
- 64. Sacramento Regional Area Planning Commission, "Rural Agricultural Goods Movement Study," Sacramento, 1977.
- 65. Gary M. LaBella, A Glance Back: A History of the American Trucking Industry, Washington, D.C., 1976.
- 66. Lyons, 5-7.
- 67. Medford S. Weiss, 70-73.
- 68. Weiss, 177.
- 69. McGowan, II, 321.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Arthur Allen, Stories of the Sacramento Delta, Rio Vista, CA: Delta Herald, (1952).
- William Appleton, A Cycle of Cathay: the Chinese vogue in England during the

  Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries, N.Y.: Columbia Univ. Press,

  1951.
- Daniel D. Arreola, "Locke, California: persistence and Change in the Cultural Landscape of a Delta Chinatown," Thesis, California State Univ., Hayward, 1975.
- Dorothy Augusta, "Locke," <u>Sacramento County Historical Society Golden Notes</u>, 16,#4 (Oct. 1970), 1-8.
- Hugh D. R. Baker, A Chinese Lineage Village: Sheung Shui, Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1968.
- Hubert H. Bancroft, <u>History of California</u>, 1860-1890, VII, 1890; rpt. Santa Barbara, CA: Wallace Hebberd, 1970.
- Walton Bean, California: An Interpretative History, N.Y. & S.F.: McGraw-Hill Co., 1968.
- Ben Blow, California Highways: A Descriptive Record of Road Development by

  The State and by such counties as have paved highways, San Francisco:

  H. S. Crocker Co., 1920.
- Book Club of California, Cathay in Eldorado: the Chinese in California, San Francisco: Book Club of California, 1972.
- William H. Boudier, The Paths of Humanity: A Chronicle of California Highway

  Development, Sacramento: CA State, Div. of Highways, Feb. 1966.

- Samuel Bowles, Our New West: Records of Travel between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Ocean, Hartford, CT: Hartford Publ. Co., 1869.
- James Bryce, The American Commonwealth, 2 vols. rev. ed., N.Y.: Macmillan, 1923.
- CA State, Dept. of Parks and Recreation, "Town of Locke feasibility study of the department's involvement," Sacramento: Dept. of Parks and Recreation, Nov. 1977.
- CA State, Dept. of Parks and Recreation, "Town of Locke project acquisition inventory," Sacramento: Dept. of Parks and Recreation, June 1978.
- CA State, Div. of Highways, "History of the designation and growth of the California State Highway system, 1895-1939," Sacramento: unpublished draft, 1940.
- CA State, Highway Advisory Committee, "Report of a study of the State Highway system," Sacramento: CA State Printing Office, 1925.
- Horace R. Cayton & Anne O. Lively, The Chinese in the United States and the

  Chinese Christian Churches, N.Y.: National Council of the Churches

  of Christ in the United States of America, Apr. 1955.
- Jean Chesneaux, ed., <u>Popular Movements and Secret Societies in China, 1840-</u>
  <u>1950</u>, Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1972.
- Jean Chesneaux, Secret Societies in China in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1971.
- Chinese 'Historical Society of America, "Report on recommendations for future of Locke," San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America, Aug. 1976.
- Thomas W. Chinn, ed., A History of the Chinese in California: a syllabus,

  San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America, 1969.
- Ping Chiu, Chinese Labor in California, Madison: Univ. of Wisconson Press,

- Philip P. Choy, "Golden mountain of lead: the Chinese experience in California," California Historical Society Quarterly, 50,#3 (Sep. 1971), 267-276.
- George Chu, "Chinatowns in the Delta: the Chinese in the Sacramento-San

  Joaquin Delta, 1870-1960," California Historical Society Quarterly,

  49,#1 (Mar. 1970), 21-37.
- John Cook, "Sacramento River levee town sketched," Sacramento Union, Dec.20, 1959, p.1, col. 1.
- See-gnow Chin, Interview, Apr. 1, 1977, Oakland, CA.
- Mary Coolidge, Chinese Immigration, N.Y.: Holt, 1909.
- Robert E. Cowan & Boutwell Dunlap, Bibliography of the Chinese Question in the United States, San Francisco: A. M. Robertson, 1909.
- Lawrence Crissman, "The segmentary structure of urban overseas Chinese communities," Man 2,#2 (Jun. 1967), 185-204.
- Mildred Cummings, "Chinese work at Locke, California," 21, #1 (Jan. 1930), 44-45, Mission.
- Julian Dana, The Sacramento: River of Gold, N.Y. & Toronto: Farrar & Rinehart, 1939.
- Raymond Dawson, The Chinese Chameleon: an analysis of European conceptions of Chinese civilization, London & N.Y.: Oxford Univ. Press, 1967.
- R. D. Delmatier, C. F. McIntosh & E. G. Waters, The Rumble of California
  Politics, 1848-1970, N.Y.: John Wiley & Sons, 1970.
- Dorothy & Joseph Dowdell, The Chinese Helped Build America, N.Y.: Julian Messner, 1972.
- Jean Baptiste Du Halde, The General History of China, London: J. Watts, 1741.
- Zoeth S. Eldredge, ed., History of California, 5 vols. N.Y.: The Century
  History Co., 1915.
- Robert E. English, "Locke, California: a preliminary research report,"

- Sacramento: Dept. of Parks and Recreation, 1974.
- Hsiao-tung Fei, Peasant Life in China: a field study of country life in the Yangtze Valley, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1939.
- James J. Flink, America Adopts the Automobile, 1895-1910, Cambridge, MA:
  M.I.T. Press, 1970.
- Stanley L. M. Fong, "Assimilation and changing social roles of Chinese Americans," Journal of Social Issues, 29, #2 (1973), 115-127.
- George E. Frakes & Curtis B. Solberg, eds., Minorities in California History,
  N.Y.: Random House, 1971.
- Maurice Freedman, Chinese Lineage and Society: Fukien and Kwangtung, London:
  The Athlone Press, 1966.
  - Family and Kinship in Chinese Society, Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1970.
  - Lineage Organization in Southeastern China, London: The Athlone Press, 1958.
- Louis J. Gallagher, China in the Sixteenth Century: the journals of Matthew Ricci, 1585-1610, Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1953.
- Sidney D. Gamble, <u>Ting Hsien: A North China Rural Community</u>, 1954 rpt. Stanfod: Stanford Univ. Press, 1968.
- Erle S. Gardner, Drifting Down the Delta, N.Y.: Morrow, 1969.
  - ' Gypsy Days on the Delta, N.Y.: Morrow, 1967.
- Clifford Geertz, "The rotating credit association: a "Middle Rung" in development," Economic Development and Cultural Change, 10, #3 (Apr. 1962), 241-263.
- Curt Gentry, The Madams of San Francisco, Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1964.
- Carl Glick & Sheng-hwa Hong, Swords of Silence: Chinese secret societies past and present, N.Y.: McGraw-Hill, 1947.
- Samuel Gompers & Herman Gutstadt, Meat vs. Rice, 1902 rpt. San Francisco: Asiatic

Exclusion League, 1908.

- Cregory Creenway, "An archeological survey of the town of Locke, Sacramento

  County, California," Sacramento: Sacramento Housing and Redevelopment

  Agency, Mar. 1979.
- A. P. C. Griffin, Library of Congress, select list of references on Chinese immigration, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904.
- Gladys C. Hanson & William F. Heintz, The Chinese in California: a brief bibliographic history, Portland: Richard Abel & Co., 1970.
- Mike Hayden, <u>Guidebook to the Sacramento Delta Country</u>, L.A.: Ward Ritchie Press, 1973.
- Paul Hazard, The European Mind: 1680-1715, N.Y.: New American Library, 1963.
- R. F. Heizer & A.T. Almquist, <u>The Other Californians</u>, Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1971.
- Charles Hillinger, "A tiny community living on borrowed time," Los Angeles Times,

  Jan. 31, 1971.
- Tom Horton, "The right town but a few years too late," Sacramento Union, Feb. 11, 1973.
- William Hoy, The Chinese Six Companies, San Francisco: Chinese Consolidated

  Benevolent Association, 1942.
- Kung-chuan Hsiao, Rural China: Imperial Control in the Mineteenth Century,

  Seattle: Univ of Washington Press, 1960.
- Francis L. K. Hsu, Americans and Chinese, London: The Cresset Press, 1955.

  Under the Ancestors' Shadow, Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1967.
- Hsien Chin Hu, The Common Descent Croup in China and its Functions, N.Y.:
  Viking Fund, 1948.
- C. Y. Hui, "A live Chinese Baptist Mission in Locke," Missions, 17,#2 (Feb. 1926), 102-103.

- Harold Isaacs, Images of Asia: American views of China and India, 1958; rpt.

  N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1972,
- Paul Jacobs, Saul Landau & Eve Pell, eds., To Serve the Devil, N.Y.: Vintage Press, 1971.
- Faith Joice,"Rum on levee roads, Missions, 25,#7 (Sep. 1934), 436.
- Dilys Jones, "Locke in the Delta," Westways, (May 1964), 34-35.
- Ralph Kauer, "The Workingman's Party of California," <u>Pacific Historical Review</u>, 13,#3 (Sep. 1944), 278-291.
- George H. Knoles, ed., Essays and Assays: California History reappraised,

  San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1973.
- Daniel H. Kulp, <u>Country Life in South China</u>, N.Y.: Bureau of Publications, Columbia Univ., 1925.
- S. W. Kung, Chinese in American Life, Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 1962.
- Gary M. LaBella, A Glance Back: A History of the American Trucking Industry,
  Washington, D.C.: American Trucking Assoc., (1976).
- H. Mark Lai & Philip P. Choy, Outlines: History of the Chinese in America,

  1971; rpt. San Francisco: Chinese-American Studies Planning Group,

  1973.
- Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1946.
- Bill Lawrence, "Danger to town: man dies as Locke homes burn," Sacramento Bee,

  June 25, 1973.
- C. Y. Lee, Days of the Tong Wars, California 1847-1896, N.Y.: Ballantine Books, 1974.
- Calvin Lee, Chinatown, U. S. A., N.Y.: Boubleday, 1965.
- Kuo-sun Lee, Interview, Apr. 13, 1977, San Francisco, CA.
- Ping Lee, Interview, Sept. 26, 1975, Walnut Grove, CA.
- Rose Hum Lee, The Chinese in the United States of America, Hong Kong: Hong Kong

Univ. Press, 1960.

- Gor Yum Leong, Chinatown Inside Out, N.Y.: B. Mussey, 1936.
- Oscar Lewis, The Big Four, N.Y. & London: Knopf, 1938.
- Ivan H. Light, Ethnic Enterprise in America, Berkekey: Univ. of California Press, 1972.
- Hui-chen Wang Liu, The Traditional Chinese Clan Rules, Locust Valley, N.Y.:

  J. J. Augustin, 1959.
- Kwang-ching Liu, Americans and Chinese: a historical essay and a bibliography,
  Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1963.
- Anne Loftis, California: Where the twain did meet, N.Y.: Macmillan, 1973.
- Frank Lortie, "The historic significance of Locke, preliminary report,"
  - Sacramento: CA State, Dept. of Parks and Recreation, June 7, 1978.
- Stanford M. Lyman, The Asian in the West, Reno: Univ. of Nevada Press, 1970.

  Chinese Americans, N.Y.: Random House, 1974.
- Robert McClellan, The Heathen Chinee: a study of American attitudes toward

  China, 1890-1905, Columbus: Ohio State Univ. Press, 1971.
- James M. McCutcheon, China and America: a bibliography of interactions,

  foreign and domestic, Honolulu: The Univ. of Hawaii, Press, 1972.
- Joseph A. McGowan, <u>History of the Sacramento Valley</u>, 3 vols., N.Y. & West Palm Beach: Lewis Historical Publ. Co., 1961.
- Alexander McLeod, Pigtails and Gold Dust, Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, 1947.
- Jerry MacMullen, <u>Paddle-wheel Days in California</u>, Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1944.
- Cary McWilliams, <u>Brothers Under the Skin</u>, rev.ed., Boston: Little, Brown, 1951.

  Factories in the Field, 1939; rpt. Santa Barbara & Salt Lake City:

  Peregrine Press, 1971.
- Whitney Marr, Interview, May 16, 1977, Berkeley, CA.

- Stuart C. Miller, The Unwelcome Immigrant: the American image of the Chinese, 1785-1882, Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1969.
- Roger Minick, Delta West: the land and people of the Sacramento-San Joaquin

  Delta, Berkeley: The Scrimshaw Press, 1969.
- Gerald D. Nash, State Government and Economic Development: a history of

  administrative policies in California, 1849-1933, Berkeley: Institute
  for Governmental Studies, Univ. of California, 1964.
- Victor G. Nee & Brett deBary Nee, Longtime Californ': a documentary study of an American Chinatown, N.Y.: Pantheon Books, 1972
- Hart H. North, "Chinese and Japanese immigration to the Pacific Coast",

  California Historical Society Quarterly, 28, #4 (Dec. 1949),343-350.

  "Chinese highbinder societies in California," California Historical

  Society Quarterly, 27, #1 (Mar. 1948), 19-31.
- Jack Olglesby, "Little town is big on incongruities," Sacramento Bee, Feb. 7, 1971.
- Roger Olmstead, "The Chinese must go!" California Historical Society Quarterly, 50, #3 (Sep. 1971), 283-294.
- Albert W. Palmer, Orientals in American Life, N.Y.: Friendship Press, 1934.
- Mrs. Alonzo M. Petty, "Baptist work among the Chinese of the Pacific Coast,"

  Mission, 12, #7 (July 1921), 426-427.
- Dick Pollard, "Locke slumbers on, remnant of the past," Sacramento Union,
  Apr. 5, 1962.
- Russell M. Posner, "The lord and the drayman: James Bryce vs. Denis Kearney,"

  California Historical Society Quarterly, 50, #3 (Sep. 1971), 277-284.
- George T. Renner, "Chinese influence in the development of the Western United States," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 152, (Nov. 1930) 356-369.

- Fred W. Riggs, <u>Pressures on Congress: a study of the repeal of Chinese</u>
  exclusion, N.Y.: King's Crown Press, Columbia Univ., 1950.
- River Road Art Center, "Hello, welcome to Locke," Locke, CA: River Road Art Center, N.D.
- Jean Rossi, "Lee Bing," Pacific Historian, 20, #4 (Winter 1976), 351-366.
- Sacramento County Historical Society, Plaque, Locke, CA, Aug. 2, 1970.
- Sacramento Housing and Redevelopment Agency, "A plan and action program for Locke, California," Sacramento: Sac. Hsg. and Redevelopment Agency, July 1977.
  - "A plan and action program for Locke, California: technical suppliment," Sacramento: Sac. Hsg. and Redevelopment Agency, July 1977.
- Sacramento Regional Area Planning Commission, "Rural agricultural goods movement study," Sacramento: Sac. Reg. Area Planning Commission, Jan. 1977.
- Elmer C. Sandmeyer, The Anti-Chinese Movement in California, 1939; rpt. Urbana:
  Univ. of Illinois Press, 1973.
- Alexander Saxton, "The Army of Canton in the High Sierra," <u>Pacific Historical</u>
  <u>Review</u>, 35, #2 (May 1966), 141-152.
  - The Indispensable Enemy: labor and the anti-Chinese movement in California, Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1971.
- Harold Z. Schiffren, Sun Yat-sen and the Origins of the Chinese Revolution,
  Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1970.
- Lyon Sharman, Sun Yat-sen: his life and its meaning, 1934; rpt. Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1968.
- Charles R. Shepherd, "Promoting interracial understanding," The Missionary Review of the World, 57, #6 (June 1934), 277-278.
  - "Sowing the seeds of international good will," <u>Missions</u>, 14, #11 (Dec. 1923), 624.

- Frank A. Smith, "The position of the Oriental on the Pacific Coast," Missions, 19, #4 (Apr. 1928), 196-200.
- W. Earle Smith, "The story of Chung Mei Home," The Missionary Review of the World, 57, #6 (June 1934), 290.
- William C. Smith, The Second Generation Oriental in America, Honolulu:

  Institute of Pacific Relations, 1927.
- Stan Steiner, Fusang: the Chinese who built America, N.Y., S.F. & London: Harper & Row, 1979.
- Stanley Sue & Nathaniel N. Wagner, eds., Asian-Americans: psychological perspectives, Palo Alto: Science & Behavior Books, 1973.
- Shirley Sun, Three Generations of Chinese East and West, Oakland: The Oakland Museum, 1973.
- Betty L. Sung, The Story of the Chinese in America, 1967; rpt. N.Y.: Colliers, 1971.
- Betty M. Suzuki, "Medical needs of the people of the Sacramento Delta area,"

  Thesis, Sacramento State University, 1971.
- Paul S. Taylor, "Foundations of California rural society," California
  Historical Society Quarterly, 24, #3 (Sep. 1945), 193-228.
- Esther A. Thomas,"A Chinese town on the Sacramento," Missionary Review of the World, 57, #9 (Sep. 1934), 407-408.
- J. S. Tow, The Real Chinese in America, N.Y.: The Academy Press, 1923,
- U. S. Bureau of Public Roads, "Report of a study of the California highway system," Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1920.
- Univ. of California, Davis, Kellogg Program, "Future of Locke Conference report," Davis: Univ. of California, Davis, Mar. 10, 1974.
- Jack Trayner & Waylon Can, "Summary and analysis of interviews conducted July through August, 1976," Sacramento: Sac. Hsg. and Redevelopment

Agency, 1976.

- Calvin Trillin,"The last Chinatown," The New Yorker, 54, #1 (Feb.20,1978), 107-113.
- Frederic Wakeman, Strangers at the Gate: Social Disorder in South China, 1839-1861, Berkeley: Univ. of California, Press, 1966.
- Melford S. Weiss, <u>Valley City: a Chinese community in America</u>, Cambridge,MA: Schenkman, 1974.
- Charles Wollenberg, "Ethnic experiences in California history: an impressionistic survey," California Historical Society Quarterly, 50, #3 (Sep.1971), 221-233.
- Cheng-tsu Wu, CHINK!: anti-Chinese prejudice in America, N.Y.:World Publ. Co. 1972.
- Yok-shu Yip, Interviews, Mar. 10, 1977 & Apr. 1,1977, Berkeley, CA.
- Roger Zuercher,"The treatment of Asian minorities in American history textbooks," <u>Indiana Social Studies Quarterly</u>, 22, #2 (Autumn 1969), 19-27.
- The People vs. George W. Hall. 4 California 399 (1854).

Addendum to Town of Locke Locke Sacramento County California

HABS No. CA-2071

HABS CAL, 34-LOCKE,

# **PHOTOGRAPHS**

Historic American Buildings Survey
National Park Service
Department of the Interior
Washington, D. C. 20013-7127